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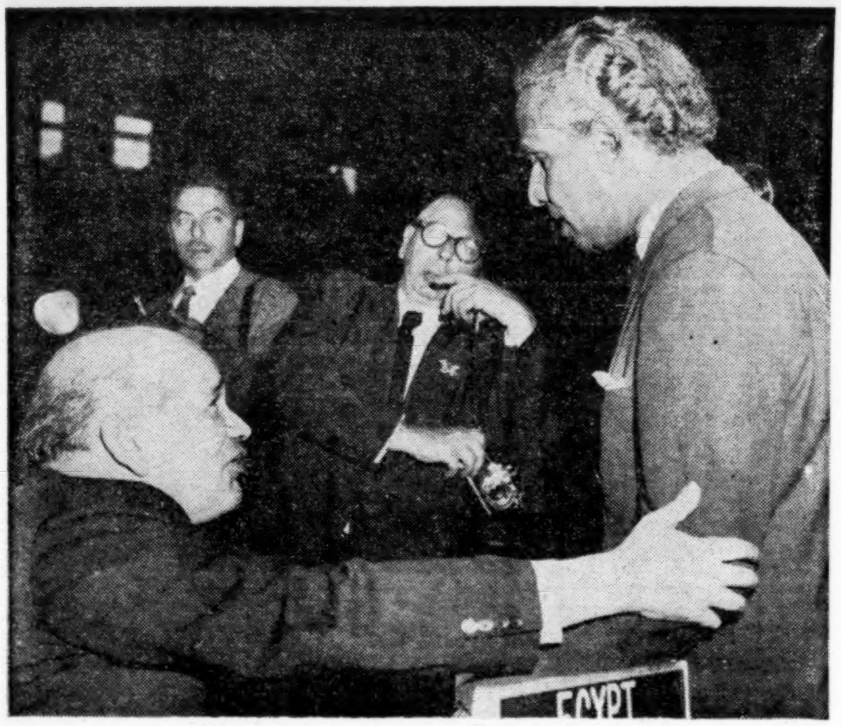


The hand of Egypt reaches out to India

At a tense session of the United Nations Assembly Egypt's delegate Omar Loutfi stops India's Krishna Menon for a hurried conference. For weeks before the invasion of Egypt Menon had visited several world capitals in an urgent attempt to head off war in the Middle East.

EAST EUROPEAN CRISIS

Cold war is rekindled by events in Hungary

By Elmer Bendiner

THE N.Y. **Daily News** last week found a silver lining in the storm clouds over Hungary. An editorial on Nov. 9 said that the picture the world would now have of the Russians "won't bring back to life the Hungarians whom the Reds have slaughtered. But if it wrecks Red 'peaceful co-existence' propaganda and efforts to step up trade with the West, those martyrs will not have died in vain."

The conviction that Hungarians died in order to demonstrate that peace with the Russians is impossible, was shared by a crowd of 10,000 which on Nov. 8 filled half of New York's Madison Sq. Garden. The rally, called by a group of committees in behalf of refugees from socialist lands, shouted frenzied approval of speeches by Gov. Averell Harriman; Sen. Clifford P. Case of N.J.; publisher Henry Luce; Cardinal Spellman; Alexandra Tolstoy; millionaire sponsor of anti-socialist rescue missions Angier Biddle Duke; Maj. Gen. (Wild Bill) Donovan, and William F. Schnitzler, secy.-treas. of the AFL-CIO.

THE HIGH SPOT: Sponsors of the meeting had rushed from Vienna as a prize attraction Mrs. Anna Kethly, 67, a lifelong Social Democrat who joined Imre Nagy's cabinet in the final chaotic days before the Russians moved in. She had no visa but the U.S. quickly arranged an entry permit for her. High city and state officials received her.

She was escorted to the platform by Gov. Harriman, a beam lighting her path down the aisle of the darkened Garden. It was the evening's high-spot. The crowd cheered as she began in Hungarian. But when a translator put her words into English, the crowd began to boo and eventually howled her down.

NO MORE KILLING: What angered them was Mrs. Kethly's declaration that Hungarians had been fighting not for "the beginning of a new war but the beginning of the often-mentioned co-existence."

The N.Y. **Mirror** reported: "Boos and jeers cut short the talk of Mrs. Anna Kethly . . . when she made an appeal for 'peaceful co-existence' with the communists . . . It was pointed out that she was anti-Russian but not anti-communist and the crowd quickly silenced her."

Mrs. Kethly disappointed some as soon as she landed at Idlewild Airport when she told newsmen: "I don't want military assistance. I don't want any more bloodshed. I have seen so much these last ten days." Later she asked to be accredited as Hungary's representative at the UN Assembly.

(Continued on Page 9)

WAR & PEACE

UN acts to halt new outbreaks in Middle East

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS, N. Y.

SHORTLY AFTER THE OPENING of the UN's 11th General Assembly session last week, United Nations Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold flew to Rome on his way to Cairo. Underscoring the importance he attached to the UN's role in bringing peace to Egypt, Hammarskjold said he intended to fly to Cairo with the first UN international police force unit which will supervise withdrawal of foreign troops from Egyptian soil.

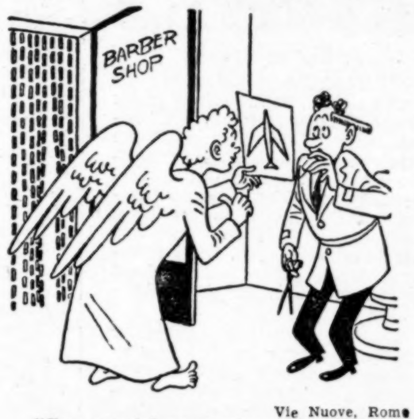
Cairo accepted the UN police force on the condition that it would have nothing to do with the Suez Canal, that it would be stationed on the Israeli-Egyptian armistice line after British, French and Israeli troops leave Egypt. President Nasser said the nationality of the police force units must be acceptable to Egypt and said he would decide on the duration of their stay.

The police force would be under the command of Maj. Gen. E. L. M. Burns of Canada, who has been in charge of the UN Israeli-Arab truce supervision commission. The first contingent of Colombian, Danish and Norwegian troops were already at their embarkation station at Naples.

Israel, Britain and France accepted the UN police force and agreed to withdraw their troops from Egypt only after strong pressure inside and outside the UN.

Premier Ben-Gurion agreed to withdraw Israeli troops from the Sinai peninsula after receiving warning notes from both President Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Bulganin. Mr. Eisenhower's letter clearly implied the end of U. S. aid if Israel flouted the UN resolution calling for withdrawal of troops; it was followed by a similar verbal warning delivered by U. S. Ambassador Edward Lawson. Bulganin told Ben-Gurion that the Soviet government was "taking steps to put an end to the war and restrain the agressors."

GAZA STRIP CLAIMED: Britain and France tried in more subtle ways to modify the withdrawal resolution with qualifications. But after India's Krishna Menon asked how aggressors presumed to lay down conditions to the UN, the overwhelming majority of the General Assembly voted to defeat the Anglo-French maneuvers.



Vie Nuove, Rome

"Can you trim my wings like this?"

At GUARDIAN press time, however, there were indications that Israel, Britain and France had by no means reconciled themselves to full compliance with the UN resolution. Israeli Foreign Minister Golda Meir still claimed the Gaza strip as an integral part of Israel, and Israeli occupation troops were reported rapidly placing the region under Israeli law and introducing Israeli currency.

In his Nov. 9 broadcast Ben-Gurion told his people that troops would be withdrawn "upon conclusion of a satisfactory arrangement" with the UN police force

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A GUARDIAN EXCLUSIVE FROM CAIRO

Invasion of Port Said

By Tabitha Petran

Guardian Staff correspondent

CAIRO, Nov. 13

THE CONTINUING BLACKOUT in Cairo reflects widespread mistrust and deep suspicion of the UN police force. Most people here see the police force as aimed at internationalizing the canal. Suspicions deepened with reports of reinforcement of Anglo-French troops at Port Said and talk of stationing police forces in the canal zone. As the result of popular resistance, morale is high. Port Said is referred to here as Egypt's Stalingrad.

A Yugoslav reporter and I were the first to interview refugees from Port Said, 65,000 of whom are quartered at schools and other centers near Mansoura. They reached Myteria by boat and came the rest of the way by bus. Other refugee boats were reported machine-gunned and many were killed last night. The refugees are mainly women, children and old people. The young are preparing to go back and fight.

Some were shocked into paralysis by the horrors they witnessed and gazed emptily into space. Others were weeping for relatives lost or killed. Still others were too excited to talk. But from many refugees in various centers whose stories tallied with each other, we got a picture of what the British and French did to Port Said.

ATTACK BY TREACHERY: All reported that on the evening of Nov. 5 longtime British and French residents toured the city with loudspeakers announcing in Arabic that the Soviets were coming the following morning. The next morning many tanks with Egyptian and Soviet flags came up from the beach. Tank crews wore the green berets of the Egyp-

(Continued on Page 4)

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THE MAIL BAG

A Briton Speaks

BRIXHAM, ENGLAND

The clue to Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden's "ambiguous" repudiation of force is that he practices it against the weak—the Cypriots, for example, and the Kikuyu of Kenya, large numbers of the latter having been hanged although the majority hadn't killed anyone. Forty thousand Africans are still retained in concentration camps in British East Africa.

The Tories believe that they can bring Nasser to his knees by a sudden military coup—in spite of the fact that they have themselves been supplying Egypt with arms. (In this way history is repeating itself, for pre-1939 the Tories lent Hitler £800 million to help him to rearm and then declared war on him.)

In place of a coherent foreign policy, the Tories foster a costly royalist propaganda which expresses itself in £1,000-a-minute Royal Tours, rather than in extending British social services (like the National Health Service—undoubtedly the most beneficent measure ever introduced by any government anywhere) to the outlying corners of the Dominions.

R. M. Clark

Mess call

PAHOKEE, FLA.

The idea that we could fly and destroy 100 Russian cities before breakfast and come back to a good supper is out of date. Instead we now know that if we did come back, there would be no cooks and no supper.

R. E. Boe

Winds of the world

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Honestly, the reasoning of the men in the Pentagon is infantile. Despite the easing of tensions in international affairs, all of it on the initiative of the Soviet Union, our military leaders, abetted by our politicians, seem hell-bent on keeping up the mad atomic race. It is about time that we show our sincerity and our genuine desire for peace by concrete acts in that direction.

One thing is certain: nuclear explosions, limited or unlimited, mean death to millions of innocent non-combatants. The winds of the world will blow the deadly dust and debris to the ends of the earth. The question arises if the few men in control of our government have any mandate from us, not to mention the rest of mankind, to jeopardize human existence or even to poison the Pacific air with substances that may lead to incalculable biological, material and economic consequences.

Mr. Eisenhower is a good "practising" Christian; at least he attends church regularly. So did Harry Truman and Winston Churchill when they agreed to drop the first atomic bomb on the colored people of Japan. Will their Christianity rise up to end the race of death?

Oriental

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Egypt should be ashamed of herself after all Britain has done for her. This view of the war was displayed to a crowded Commonwealth Club luncheon in the Sheraton-Palace Hotel yesterday by William Courtenay, O. B. E., M.M., a free-lance British war correspondent and lecturer.

"Britain," he said, "raised Egypt from bankruptcy to a going concern" and "taught her how to be Godly and quietly governed as we have taught so many other nations."

"What she owes us," he said sadly, "is an immense debt of gratitude, but that's the last thing you get in this business."

San Francisco **Chronicle**, Nov. 3, 1956.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Betty Jacobs, San Francisco. Be sure to include original clipping (with date).

Another Cedric reports

APPLETON, MINN.

Our Minneapolis **Star** colyumist Cedric Adams went to the Soviet Union this summer with 35 Upper Midwest business men and wrote this from Leningrad:

"I can walk three blocks from the Minneapolis **Star & Tribune** building and see more poverty, slums and human wretchedness. I can walk along Washington Avenue for one block and see more drunks, de-horns and destitutes than I have seen in touring at least 165 miles through the streets and thoroughfares of Leningrad, a city of 3,500,000. And I feel sure that we haven't been a sheltered lot nor have we been guided to any special sections where we might avoid the slum areas if they exist."

I thought this very interesting because Adams is the most popular and best-read writer on the **Star** and is by far the most popular commentator on WCCO, the biggest radio station hereabout.

Elmer Benson

Brickbats

OAKLAND, CALIF.

Your attitude seems to have been that in a dictatorship of the working people, those in power are always so imbued with idealism that they lose all their human frailties—they no longer are subject to the lust for power and the desire for self-aggrandizement.

I want to add I think you have been not only unfair but most unrealistic about the state of Israel. Because Israel received aid from the U. S., you have completely ignored the social progress made there, the democratic oasis it represents in a sea of feudalism, the humanitarian attitude shown toward the poverty-stricken immigrants and the great accomplishments made there which any fairminded observer will report. You have chosen rather to refer to reactionary elements which your reporters dig up to show all is not 100% perfect. What kind of reporting is this?

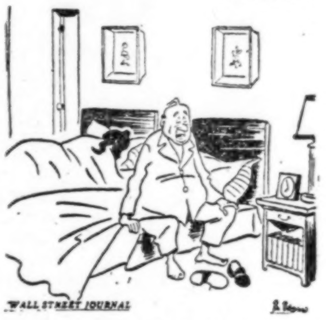
Ethel Cohen

Beside Belfrage

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

Cedric Belfrage's articles on the Soviet Union have been splendid. He knows just what to look for, and he reports it truthfully. You could almost feel yourself beside him.

Al Emery



Wall Street Journal

"Being the boss is no fun! I have to get up early to see who comes in late!"

Save the Senate!

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I rise to dispute Dr. W. E. B. DuBois whose fine indignation and rare scholarship I respect. In the Nov. 5 GUARDIAN he advocates reforming the Senate so that representation will more nearly correspond to the voting population. He demonstrates an "inequality" in which populous New York, for example, has a voice no greater than that of South Carolina in the Senate.

I agree that the results of this disparity have not been wholesome but I think that is due not to the manner of representation but to the quality of South Carolina's Senators.

To attack "inequality" in the Senate is somewhat like denouncing the Assembly of the UN because tiny Costa Rica has an equal vote with India. This country is still a union of states, with one legislative chamber to represent areas according to their population, another to represent more or less sovereign states.

If we apportion the second house according to population we will have two Houses of Representatives and the record shows, I believe, that where one house is not a home, two is no improvement.

I could understand Dr. DuBois if he proposed abolishing the Senate altogether, but he does not do that. He goes either too far or not far enough. To abolish the Senate would mean reconstituting this union of states into a United State, divided only for handy ballot counting and local government, with standardized laws (which now are very diverse.) This total revision of the Constitution would require a long-drawn battle to win the consent of each state separately as well as Congress.

It would be a little like trying to change the course of a ship by redesigning the cabins.

Edgar Beaufort.

Rhymes of the times

CLEVELAND, O.

Mary, Mary, quite contrary
How does your garden grow—
With empty shells and sterile belles—
And little monstrosities all in a row!

O. Fission Fusion

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REPORT TO READERS

Post-election frenzy

THE POST-ELECTION PROGRAM of Rep. Francis E. Walter (D-Pa.) went into operation as the GUARDIAN went to press with this issue. Returnable the week of Nov. 11 were subpenas for upwards of 80 men and women who since January 1953 have spark-plugged organized opposition to the Smith Act, the McCarran Act or the McCarran-Walter Act.

Those summoned, for the most part, are not the figureheads of national committees, but rather the workaday people who arrange meetings, get out the mailings, hear the stories of victimized individuals, represent them in inquisitions or deportation proceedings, and perhaps telephone around for contributions to carry on the job.

Called to give an account of herself and her activities, for example, was one young woman who organized a kind of day-care club for the young children of McCarran-Walter victims imprisoned on Ellis Island. Also called was a woman who undertook the job of trying to stay the deportation of Chungsoon and Choon Cha Kwak, anti-Rhee Koreans. A lawyer and a writer who organized a legislative conference were summoned because the conferees proposed campaigns against repressive legislation. A heroic World War II skipper of a Liberty Ship was summoned for his activities in defense of the rights of foreign-born. A journalist who doubles as a music teacher got a summons because he has devoted his spare time—when, as and if—to trying to win full citizenship rights for immigrants.

CONGRESSMAN WALTER says his Committee's purpose is "to examine the widespread counter-attacks which the Communists have launched to subvert the legislative and executive programs designed to thwart them." And in many instances his subpenas call for all correspondence, records and minutes of meetings connected with any attempt to revise or repeal the three Acts listed above.

What the Walter Committee activity reflects more certainly is the fact that the campaigns against all three Acts have borne great fruit: the Smith Act has suffered one crushing reversal at the hands of the Supreme Court and three more cases under it have been accepted for review in the coming months. The McCarran Act findings against the Communist Party have been sent back to lower courts because of "tainted testimony." The McCarran-Walter Act has been opposed by both Eisenhower and Stevenson, by virtually every trade union, national group, church and educational organization and by eminent citizens the length and breadth of the land. It has few friends except Walter and Sen. Eastland, and drastic amendment of it was an election promise of more Congressmen and Senators than either can shake a stick at. The new hearings are aimed at halting the pressure, intimidating the opposition and tying up the hands and finances of the field workers against repression.

We believe this new wave of inquisition should be the signal for redoubled contributions and effort for the Smith Act appeals, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and all organizations fighting registration under the McCarran Act.

THE WITCH-HUNTERS DIE HARD, as is shown also by the apparent determination of the State of Kentucky to continue harassment of the Louisville sedition defendants despite the Supreme Court's invalidation of all state sedition acts. The Kentucky courts have refused to vacate proceedings against the Louisville defendants for sedition in connection with the purchase of a home for a Negro family in a white neighborhood in 1954. The house was dynamited in June, 1954, after the family of Andrew Wade IV moved in. The sedition arrests followed, and one of the defendants, Vernon Bown, was charged with the actual bombing, although he was 400 miles away.

This week Bown goes on trial for the bombing. Listed as witnesses against him are two men originally named by police as the chief suspects in the bombing—the builder of the house and his son. The son is the founder of Kentucky's White Citizens' Councils. The prosecutor has conceded that he lacks sufficient evidence to convict Bown of the bombing and can convict him only if permitted to make it a political trial such as that of Carl Braden, who bought the house for the Wades and was convicted of sedition for allegedly trying to stir up racial strife and bring about dark and bloody revolution against Kentucky.

The prosecutor knows as well as anyone in Kentucky that Bown did not bomb the Wade home, nor conspire to do so. The reason for bringing him to trial is evidently that desegregation has been proceeding too peacefully in Louisville schools, and the White Citizens Councils are demanding the trial to foment anti-Negro feeling and a Red scare similar to that produced by the Braden trial.

Watch the GUARDIAN for coverage of the Bown persecution.

—THE GUARDIAN

NO PANIC—BUT A DEEP CONCERN FOR THE FUTURE

How Israel took the news of the war in Egypt

By Ursula Wassermann
Special to the Guardian

TEL AVIV, ISRAEL, Oct. 31

THE MILITARY SPOKESMAN said the action undertaken by Israel was "something more than retaliation, but something less than war." To the public here it feels very much like war. Although there has been no panic of any kind, this town took on all the aspects of war by noon of Oct. 30. Food shops were crowded and food prices soared; black paper and black materials of all kinds appeared, out of nowhere, and were sold out within minutes, once total blackout had been ordered. And the nights are depressingly long these days, with the sun setting as early as 5 p.m.

While Haifa was shelled by an Egyptian warship (later captured) Tel Aviv suffered two alarms without attacks and with no casualties except nerves, especially the nerves of mothers with young children. (There are few fathers about these days, since practically everybody was called up beginning Oct. 25). Nerves have been taut, of course, ever since the first call-ups began and, while the city preserves its outward composure, the strain and tension is noticeable underneath.

A GHOST TOWN: Last night Tel Aviv was a ghost town, with most shops closing at dusk—unprepared for the sudden blackout—and with hotels, restaurants, cafes deserted. Some cars and buses which had succeeded in blackening their head-lights were out in the streets after dark; but as I walked through the city there were few pedestrians, if any, and those on official business or most urgent family matters. Tel Aviv had all the earmarks of London in the early days of the war, with the expectation of unhappiness to come.

Yesterday's press—with the exception of the Communist **Kol Haam**—supported the government's action. **Al Hamishmar,** Mapam's paper (left socialist), wrote somewhat ambiguously that while Mapam, as a partner in the coalition, had voted against the "walk into Egypt," now that it was an accomplished fact the party would have to support the government in its policy. There is little enthusiasm among the population, although people in Israel are so used to crises that many take it as merely another crisis. However, shopkeepers—sober citizens as a rule—asked repeatedly yesterday: "Why did they do it? Why did they march, when Ben Gurion had promised us, not once, but many times, that Israel would never start a war?" One woman, a resident here of many decades, who lost her husband and her son in the war of 1948, and who owns one of the largest haberdasheries here, asked: "What kind of promises were given to our government to persuade them to pursue such a dangerous policy?"

A DANGEROUS GAME: The public on the whole feels that this was a move long planned in advance in conjunction with Great Britain and France. Diplomatic quarters here echo these sentiments: The French have, of course, long been flirting with Israel and foreign diplomats here feel that Sinai creates a diversion to Algeria where, according to French claims, Egyptian arms have been arriving lately in increasing numbers. But, people here ask themselves, how can our Government trust the British, who have already instigated one war against us and have consistently championed the Arab cause?

As recently as three days ago, the Near East broadcasting station in Cyprus, which was always British-controlled (and since last night British-owned) attacked Israel in the most violent terms. Today, observers here ask themselves whether this was only a screen, just as they wonder whether alleged Iraq troop movements in Jordan were intended only to divert attention from the Israel-Egypt front?

Have promises been made to Israel to obtain Gaza and the Jordanian Triangle in return for assistance to Britain and France to re-occupy Suez? This appears to foreign diplomats here as a most dangerous game, esspecially since such a move is opposed not only by the Soviet Union but by the U.S. Can Israel, they ask, forego American aid in exchange for paper promises on the part of two tottering Empires? These are some of the many grave questions which are, as yet, unanswered.

THE SYMBOL OF SAAD EL AALI

This is Egypt today—the land and the people

This article, and two that will follow, were completed by Tabitha Petran just as the news of the invasion of Egypt broke. In the face of the grave Middle East crisis, they present a picture of a nation most often represented to the world by the words "Suez" and "Nasser." As these articles will show, it is much more.

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian staff correspondent

CAIRO, EGYPT

JUST ABOVE the first cataract of the Nile at Aswan lies the Isle of Philae—in old guidebooks "the pearl of Egypt." Here, 2,000 years ago, on more ancient ruins, the Ptolemies built simple and majestic temples to the Goddess Isis, whose tears over the assassination of her husband, the legend says, gave birth to the Nile. In Egypt, where four- and five-thousand-year-old constructions are not unknown, these monuments are "new." But on this tiny sun-baked granite isle, looking across to the burnt sands of the desert on either side, they have a singular beauty.

In winter, with the closing of the Aswan Dam, Philae is submerged beneath the Nile's muddy waters. At this time of year, from atop the Temple of Isis, the watermark of the huge lake formed by the Dam's closing looks like a great white chalk line on the rocks above. Soon Philae may disappear forever beneath the Nile, for Saad El Aali—the High Dam which Egypt proposed to build six kilometers up the river from Aswan—would permanently fill this great basin—and more—to constitute perhaps the biggest reservoir of water in the world. Its huge capacity (132 billion cubic meters compared to the five billion of the Aswan Dam) is required because of the Nile's great fluctuations from year to year.

THERE ARE DIFFICULTIES: Today a road is under construction to the site of Saad El Aali. Along the last stretches of the Cairo-Aswan railroad we saw some of the thousand workers laboring on it in scorching sun and blinding dust with primitive hand instruments; there wasn't a machine in sight. But the road is far from completion and we had to reach the Dam site by boat up the Nile from Aswan. The site itself is marked by a white house on a stony height above the river. An Egyptian engineer, one of the 200 technicians headquartered there and trying to complete preliminary work this year, said: "We hope to begin construction in August, 1957. But we don't know. Your countries make it difficult for us."

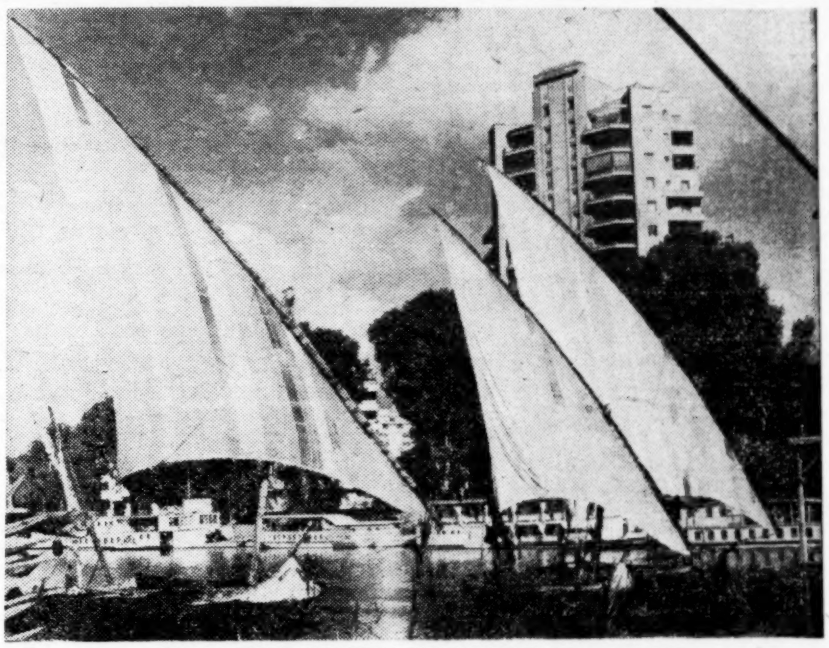
To the outside world, Egypt today may mean only the Suez Canal; but in Egypt Suez is almost invariably linked with Saad El Aali. Just after the U.S. was reported to have offered Britain and France $500 million to help finance a round-the-cape route for their shipping, I went through the Suez Canal with an Egyptian pilot on a Norwegian oil tanker.

In company with other pilots, we left the Port Said offices of the "ex-company" (as everyone calls it here) at 2 a.m. in a launch which was to take us to the ships awaiting the start of the convoy in the harbor. In the tropical night, brilliant with stars and the red and green flashes of lighthouses, the launch pitched its way in a choppy sea and the pilots argued, passionately—not about Suez but about Saad El Aali.

"WHAT HAVE WE DONE?" "You are the richest country," one said to me. "You give Eden and Picot (French chairman of the ex-company) hundreds of millions to strangle us. But you wouldn't even lend us just a few million for Saad El Aali—and this after you had given your word." With tears in his eyes another said: "Saad El Aali is for us life or death. What have we ever done to you? Why do you want us to die?"

In our trip through Upper Egypt we encountered not a single fellah (peasant) who did not know of Saad El Aali (though some were vague as to where it was) and exactly what it meant. (Every Egyptian village has one radio so that the illiterate fellaheen are not uninformed on national and international happenings.) The Nubian children who rowed us across to the Isle of Philae pointed smilingly up the river to "Saad El Aali." Gracious Nubian and Egyptian fellaheen with whom we talked in villages along the Nile gestured toward the desert saying simply: "Saad El Aali, more water, more land."

After traveling down the Nile in Upper Egypt it is not difficult to understand why Saad El Aali has fired the imagination of the people. Here, rocks and desert sand frequently come down almost to the water's edge. And in the tiny strip of fertile land—no more than two to three feet wide—grow carefully cultivated rows of peanuts, maize or fodder.



THE CONTRAST ON THE WATERS OF THE NILE
The feluccas in the stream—the luxury hotels on the shore

DESOLATE LIFE: In this torrid climate where, outside the area of green, sand and dust coat mouth and throat and granulate the eyelids, villages are built on the desert so that every inch of fertile land may be used for cultivation. So are cemeteries, whose graves with few exceptions are marked only by a small rock at head and foot, and whose dreary desolation is mute testimony to the short, circumscribed, sub-human existence of the fellaheen—people whom we found, for all that, to be humane, courteous and of unusual dignity.

Surely no other river in the world is so much a part of the life of a people as is the Nile for the fellaheen. It is their only source of water. In its polluted water they wash, fish and dip stale bread to soften. From it they draw water to drink (less than half of Egypt's 4,800 villages have potable water) and to irrigate their fields. On it they ply their transport and commerce: feluccas ferry workmen to the quarries and brick-making houses, women to the towns to sell their dates and buy corn. And when the wind falls, the fellaheen, bending and staggering under the strain, pull their heavy feluccas by hand.

In this land where there are only 6,000,000 feddans (a feddan is roughly an acre) of arable land, Saad El Aali promises to provide an additional 2,000,000 feddans, plus huge quantities of hydro-electric power. This is something any fellah, however illiterate (and most are), can understand.

THE OBJECTIONS: Saad El Aali was the number one project of the Nasser government. Egyptian progressives tended to be highly critical, regarding it as impractical for the time being, and likely to divert the people from more radical measures needed to raise the standard of living, one of the lowest in the world.

Their criticisms were that: (1) in the 15 years required to build the Dam the increase in population would be greater than the increase in arable land it would provide; hence in the end the demand on the land would be as great as if not greater than before; (2) that the power station now being built at the Aswan Dam would take care of power requirements for the time being; (3) that Saad El Aali, enormously costly, would so absorb the country's resources over a period of years that necessary industrial development would be blocked.

Whether these criticisms were justified or not has become academic since war has made Saad El Aali a distant dream. But the meaning of its hold on the people remains. The popular preoccupation with Saad El Aali was a measure of the fact that the fellaheen, whose life today is not much different from that depicted on the tombs of the Pharaohs, had at last—and for the first time—begun to hope. For this reason the people of Egypt are determined to defend and fight for that hope. This is no empty pledge—however pitifully they are equipped to do so.

NEXT WEEK: A nation in poverty.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTION RETURNS

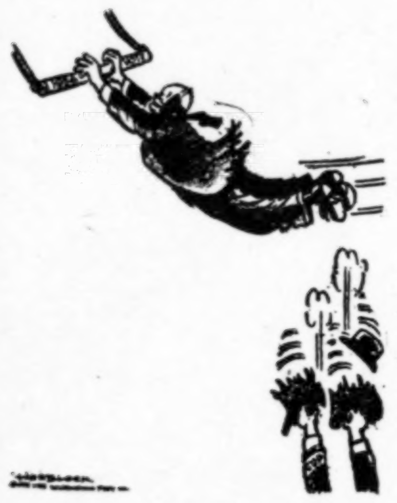
The voters shopped around on Nov. 6

By Lawrence Emery

DEMOCRATS can't elect a President and Republicans can't elect a Congress, even with the massive popular victory of Eisenhower. Neither party won the full endorsement of the voters, who shopped around for what they liked in each party and rejected the rest.

Eisenhower, who, rightly or wrongly, became the symbol of the man above the battle and the protector of the peace, won by the whopping total of 34,750,946 votes, an all-time record. His plurality over Stevenson was 9,323,585, a notch below the record set by F.D.R. in 1936.

But for all his startling strength, the President could not carry his party with him. By Nov. 10 Democrats had picked up one new seat in the House with three contests still undecided and Democrats leading in two of them. There were some changed faces in the Senate but the division is exactly the same as in the 84th Congress: 49 Democrats and 47 Republicans.



Herblock in Washington Post

With the greatest of ease . . .

SOUTHERNERS HOLD: Most important result of this line-up is that Southerners will retain the chairmanships of 21 important Senate and House committees. There will be one change in the Senate and two in the House. Retiring Walter F. George of Georgia will be replaced as head of the Foreign Relations Committee by Theodore F. Green of Rhode Island who, at 89, is the oldest man in Congress. James P. Richards (S.C.), retiring chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, will be replaced by Thomas S. Gordon, a little-known legislator who is a regular machine Democrat from Chicago. Oren Harris (Ark.) will take over the chairmanship of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee left vacant by the death of J. Percy Priest (Tenn.).

Democrats gained one governorship, making the count 28 to 19 Republicans, with the outcome in Rhode Island still in doubt. Governorships changed hands in seven states: Democrats replaced Republicans in Massachusetts, Iowa, Kansas and Washington, while Republicans ousted Democrats in West Virginia, Ohio and New Mexico.

LESS IN THE WEST: The Eisenhower avalanche rolled straight across the nation but his pluralities dwindled the further West it went. He got 62% of the popular vote in New England, 58.7% in the Midwest, 54.8% in the Pacific states. In the Southern States his lead was 51.6%.

The President saw the results as a triumph for what he calls "moderate Republicanism," but three "moderate Republican" Senatorial candidates he personally backed and personally campaigned for in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Colorado went down to defeat. His campaigning in other areas didn't help his party: he went to Iowa and lost a governorship; he spoke in Minnesota where a Democratic governor was reelected; he lost a governorship in Washington and, in Oregon, Sen. Wayne Morse trounced former Interior Secy. Douglas McKay, urged by the President to make the race.

The Oregon fight was the hardest fought in the campaign, with Morse marked as the No. 1 target of the Republicans. They spent $142,000 on behalf of McKay (the Democrats spent $3,499 on Morse), but Morse waged his fight on public power, conservation, and other issues vital to the Northwest and won. It was a total repudiation of the Eisenhower policy of turning natural resources over to Big Business.

LIBERALS DO BETTER: The Democrats fared well where, as in Oregon, their candidates could be classed as liberal as against Republican conservatism. In Michigan Gov. G. Mennen Williams won his fifth term; Joseph S. Clark Jr. won his Senate race in Pennsylvania, defeating James H. Duff, one of the earliest Eisenhower backers; and John Carroll was elected to the Senate from Colorado over Eisenhower's friend Dan Thornton. But where Democrats were indistinguishable from Republicans, they didn't do so well.

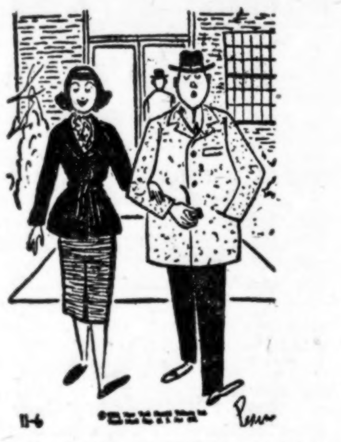
THE LABOR VOTE: The united labor movement, which mounted the most active campaign in labor history behind the Stevenson ticket, made no apparent dent in the Eisenhower popularity and scored a low average in other contests. Of 36 races marked for "special effort" by the AFL-CIO's Committee on Political Education, labor won nine and lost 27—and all the nine were incumbents. COPE reported that voluntary contributions from union members up to Oct. 31 amounted to $1,041,224, an average of about 7c a member as against the $1-a-member aimed for. James L. McDevitt, COPE co-chairman, wrote off the Senate as a standoff but said "labor had net gains in the House. We got a better House now than we had in 1942, after the last landslide." Said AFL-CIO president George Meany:

"While the 85th Congress will not be predominantly liberal, we now have renewed hope for accomplishing that objective in 1958. Meanwhile, in the great American tradition, the workers of this country, along with all other citizens, will close ranks behind President Eisenhower in his efforts to preserve peace and strengthen the forces of human freedom throughout the world."

Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell had a different angle on the election results and said they should "dispel forever the myth that the Democratic Party is the party of labor." He added that trade union leaders should reconsider the practice of endorsing candidates, so they won't "attempt to lead their union members in a direction they don't intend to go."

THE FARM VOTE: Farm unrest in the Midwest failed to produce the upsets that some had looked for; outside the South Eisenhower carried all the farm states except traditionally Democratic Missouri. But one GOP leader said his party "apparently lost up to 40% of our 1952 farm vote." Democratic governors were elected in Republican Iowa and Kansas, and six Republican House members and two Senators from farm states were unseated.

THE NEGRO VOTE: The shift in the Negro vote to Republican columns this year was the biggest in 25 years. In Harlem support for Stevenson was down anywhere from 8% to 18%, and Democratic majorities were cut nearly 20% in some Chicago Negro districts. Democratic leaders in Tennessee blamed loss of that state to Eisenhower to the Negro vote in Memphis and Nashville. Shelby County (Memphis) voted GOP for the first time since Reconstruction. Negro wards in Richmond, Va., went 70% for Stevenson in 1952, 61% for Eisenhower this year. Baltimore's 17th Ward voted two to one for Stevenson last time, this year gave him only 122 votes to 1,665 for Eisenhower.



New York Herald Tribune

"I assume you voted the way I told you to . . ."

Ted Poston of the N.Y. **Post** cited as factors in the shift of the Negro vote (1) Sen. James O. Eastland; (2) Stevenson's call for "moderation" on racial problems; (3) the weak civil rights plank in the Democratic platform which was more widely publicized than the equally weak Republican plank; (4) the bolt of Rep. Adam Clayton Powell and other prominent Negroes.

Poston reported that "in Louisville, incensed Negroes were credited with playing a major part in the defeat of Democratic Sen. Clements, whose opponent repeatedly accused him of nominating Eastland chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee."

COALITION DISSOLVED: All indications were that more women than men participated in this election and clearly the majority of their votes went to President Eisenhower.

The old loose but effective coalition welded together by Franklin D. Roosevelt in the early days of the New Deal—the Solid South, the border states, the small farmers, the industrial workers and the minorities in the big cities of the North—made the Democratic Party the majority party while it lasted. That coalition was cracked wide open by Eisenhower this year. But there is no indication that the Eisenhower majority will stay with the Republicans and neither is there any indications that the Democrats will ever be able to reform the Roosevelt coalition.

The Democrats themselves now face a furious fight for party control. Adlai Stevenson remains the titular head but his followers will be sharply challenged by Democratic Congressional leaders like Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn.

The next four years will be an era of political ferment in the U.S. After an election in which for the first time in a generation progressives took no part as a cohesive entity, one large question remained: Where would the American left take its stand in this ferment?

Port Said report

(Continued from Page 1)

tian tank corps and shouted in Arabic that they were friends. The people cheered, clapped and clustered around the tanks.

British residents snapped photos in welcome. Then the tanks went up the street with the crowd growing bigger. Suddenly the tank crews whipped off their berets and opened fire. Tanks ran people down in all directions. Hundreds were slaughtered.

At Mansour Police Station I saw many police newly escaped from Port Said who said that the Anglo-French soldiers were less dangerous than the longtime British and French residents; the latter took weapons destined for the people out of railroad cars and shot people from windows and doorways.

In one camp a longshoreman said he was the sole survivor of his outfit which was shot at from homes of the French along the waterfront.

KILLED AS THEY RAN: Eyewitnesses told of the British setting fire to the wooden houses of the Arab quarter beneath which the homeless sleep; machine-gunning people as they ran from the flames; firing oil tanks. Others said that gunfire from helicopters shot people through the windows of their homes. Some said that they saw civilians bayonetted. Others described tuberculosis patients being thrown out of a hospital by the British and hundreds machine-gunned in the stadium of the Egyptian Club. An engineer, the sole survivor of a group of 45 who hid in graves, told how parachutists routed out and killed people trying to hide in shallow water.

No estimate is possible of the dead and wounded, but all the refugees said they saw hundreds of bodies in the streets.

The people were given guns; even women and children joined in the fighting. For the last three days the British have closed the frontiers but some people manage to slip in and out. They report that the occupiers are offering high wages but are unable to get anyone to work for them. All radios have been confiscated and no Egyptian papers are permitted. Bulletins are issued purporting to come from Cairo.

A colonel in one camp said: "This is the new civilization we have in the world."

DO YOUR HOLIDAY SHOPPING THROUGH G. B. S.—SEE PAGES 6-7

HIGH COURT REFUSES REVIEW

Robeson loses passport round

PAUL ROBESON, actor and singer, lost another move in his fight for a passport when the Supreme Court on Nov. 5 refused to review his suit to compel the State Dept. to permit him to travel abroad. The suit was filed in January, 1955, but was denied by lower courts. Leonard B. Boudin, attorney for Robeson, announced that he will decide soon whether to seek a rehearing by the Supreme Court or to ask the State Dept. to grant a hearing on the case.

On the same day the Supreme Court gave the reasons for its action on Oct. 10 in granting a new trial to Steve Nelson and four others convicted under the Smith Act in Pittsburgh. The majority opinion was written by Chief Justice Earl Warren and concurred in by Justices Hugo L. Black, Stanley F. Reed, William O. Douglas and Tom C. Clark. Justices John M. Harlan, Felix Frankfurter and Harold H. Burton dissented. Justice William J. Brennan Jr. did not participate in the case.

The majority opinion held that the testimony of government witness Joseph D. Mazzei "poisoned the water in this reservoir and the reservoir cannot be cleansed without draining it of all impurity . . . Pollution having taken place here, the condition should be remedied at the earliest opportunity."

"DIGNITY WILL NOT PERMIT": The government had argued that it believed Mazzei had told the truth in the Nelson trial but that his credibility had become suspect in other appearances as an FBI informer. The Justice Dept. had asked merely that the Nelson case be remanded to a lower court for a check on the Mazzei testimony. Instead the Court majority overturned the convictions and ordered a new trial. The dissenters favored the Justice Dept. position.

In his opinion Justice Warren wrote that "the dignity of the United States government will not permit the conviction of any person on tainted testimony . . . The government of a strong and a free nation does not need convictions based upon such testimony. It cannot afford to abide with them."

SPLIT OVER EGYPT, SHOCKED BY HUNGARY

Worried Britain takes stock

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

WHEN EDEN announced a standstill and cease-fire—"unless attacked"—of Anglo-French forces in Egypt at midnight Nov. 6-7, pundits reeling under the supersonic march of events strove to figure out what caused his decision and who, if anyone, had won. In France, Premier Mollet insisted that the invaders' objectives had already been realized, but neither there nor in Britain did anybody believe it. Most of the world felt the United Nations had scored a remarkable temporary victory. Whether Washington or Moscow pressure or the force of British, Commonwealth and world opinion was mainly responsible for the cease-fire—or a combination of all three—was everywhere debated. In the House of Commons on Nov. 7, it was from the Labourites that the loudest cheers greeted Eden's announcement.

In Port Said, "most of the dead were collected by the afternoon from the dust of the littered streets", but next day "confused masses of limbs, faces and dirty clothing" were still being unloaded at the cemetery from commandered Coca-Cola trucks (**Manchester Guardian, 11/9 & 10**). The **Daily Express** reporter who had called the war "splendid" toured the ruins and reported: "War is an unpleasant sight." In London this much became clear as the week progressed:

- The invasion "to protect British citizens, the Canal and our oil supplies" had resulted in the acute endangering of British lives in Egypt and elsewhere in the Arab world; blocking of the Canal; and disruption of Iraq-Syria and Qatar oil pipelines and riots in Bahrein and Kuwait.
- When Eden spoke, he had already received the resignation of a second minister, Economic Secy. to the Treasury Sir Edward Boyle, and revolt was growing among the "rule of law" Tories said to number over 40. By Nov. 8, Eden's public relations adviser had quit and two influential Tory MP's and a "National Liberal" had publicly repudiated government policy.
- Trade union, student and "intellectual" protest had grown to formidable proportions throughout Britain; Labourite barracking threatened to turn the House of Commons into a permanent bedlam; the **Times** continued to express gloomy reservations about Eden's "gamble", and so staid a paper as the **Observer** said his "folly" and "crookedness" had made Britain more "universally disliked" than at any time "since 1783." (Nevertheless, pro-Eden sentiment was also considerable on all levels; public opinion was split down the middle rather than overwhelmingly hostile, as it was also in Austria and New Zealand.)

AS LORD NELSON LOOKED DOWN ON TRAFALGAR SQUARE
Bobbies carry off a demonstrator protesting invasion of Egypt

- Continued adherence to the Commonwealth of its non-white members was gravely endangered as riots and strikes swept Pakistan and India.
- All except super-jingo circles were gripped, after the threateningly-phrased Soviet message to Whitehall, by panic fear of a hydrogen world war.
- Anti-Soviet forces were infuriated at being deprived by the Anglo-French action of a platform from which to propagandize effectively against the Soviet action in Hungary.

EFFECT OF HUNGARY: When Eden, after the cease-fire announcement, moved on to deal contemptuously with Bulganin's message, the whole House of Commons cheered and supported him. Not even the left Labourites, who appreciated the dilemma into which it's own Stalin-era blunders had led Moscow, wanted to defend Moscow's actions in Hungary.

The continuing Hungarian blood-bath, indicating that socialist forces there could not muster enough popular backing to restore order without foreign troops, had a devastating effect on progressives in Britain as elsewhere. With on-the-spot correspondents shut up incommunicado in the British embassy in Budapest, the press gave free rein to Vienna-datelined atrocity stories recalling the reports from Riga after the 1917 revolution. Of all weeks this and the Bulganin-message to Eden had to come in Anglo-Soviet Friendship Week—and just when the Bolshoi Ballet's London visit had established greater friendliness toward the U.S.S.R. than ever before. The return visit of the Sadlers Wells Ballet to Moscow was canceled, as were "friendship" concerts featuring Soviet artists which had been scheduled in 40 British communities.

STRONG FEELINGS: In London as in other capitals, Nov. 7 parties at the Soviet embassy were shunned by most diplomats and public figures. With the shooting war at least adjourned in Egypt, "Get out of Hungary" demonstrations outside Soviet embassies were, if anything, found more impressive than "Get out of Egypt" demonstrations at Moscow's British and French embassies. In both Britain and France a few Communists joined with the non-Communists in cabled appeals to Moscow to "stop crushing the people of Hungary."

Many approved of China's decision to withdraw from Melbourne's Olympic Games, which was believed to be motivated by anxiety of becoming involved in "incidents." While fascist-led incendiary mobs got a green light from the police in Paris, British feelings were more or less non-violent but strong, as in the resolution of "horror and dismay" at "renewed brutal oppression of Hungary" carried by the London Trades Council with its pro-Soviet friendship record.

CARTOONIST QUITS: The British CP was torn with dissension on the issue; one party branch in Northumberland protested to the Soviet embassy and asked for prompt removal of troops from Hungary. The **Daily Worker's** cartoonist Gabriel resigned because of the paper's failure to protest, and a delegation of staff members had a reportedly stormy session with party leaders. In a letter to the **Worker** left-wing barrister D. N. Pritt recalled past "waves of hysteria infecting a certain number of Communists and Socialists" set off by the Stalin-Hitler pact and Finnish and Korean wars. He urged progressives to "wait a bit, and think."

How much of the CP was prepared to do so was uncertain. In a "final" issue of their publication **The Reasoner**—proscribed by the leadership but supported by many party members since it first appeared in July—Communists John Savile and E. P. Thompson mercilessly blasted their leaders. The British CP, they said, "must at once" dissociate itself from the Soviet action in Hungary, demand withdrawal of troops, "proclaim full and unequivocal solidarity with the Polish Workers Party," and call district and national congresses. Some Communists believed that unless the issue were fully and openly discussed at such congresses without delay, there would be only the decimated remains of a party left to discuss urgent issues directly threatening British workers.

IN EASTERN EUROPE: The crisis inside the CP seemed to be of unprecedented gravity, and the flood of resignations could not be dismissed as only involving "intellectuals." Hard facts about the actual situation in Hungary could help, but at the Nov. 10 week-end little was known except that Soviet troops were still shooting.

According to one prominent British progressive just back from Eastern Europe, the situation remained precarious but hopeful in Poland where leaders capable of stable liberalization had survived the Stalin-era purges. He said that in Czechoslovakia—where, however, 100,000 participated in a Prague pro-Soviet demonstration Nov. 7—such leaders were urgently needed, but thousands of "Titoists" and "anti-Stalinists" who survived the Slansky purge are still in jail.

In East Germany and Bulgaria the outlook is brighter, he said, but many in East Europe feel that only a change in the Soviet Union's party and government leadership can assure weathering of the crisis by the socialist world. There were widespread reports that such a change was in the air and a struggle between Kaganovich "Stalinists" and the Mikoyan "liberalizers"—with Khrushchev somewhere in the middle—was reaching the showdown stage.

U. S. PRESTIGE HIGH: In Britain at the week-end, the Labour Party and the U. S. basked in whatever credit there was. Labour had united more effectively than ever before in face of a Tory outburst of insanity, and right-winger Gaitskell—whatever his motives—had given leadership which greatly increased his prestige in the party.

U. S. prestige soared amid hosannahs for re-elected President Ike. Indian leaders were impressed by his performance in the Suez crisis (the **Hindustan Times** called the U. S. "the main hope of the world today") and Nehru's impending American visit took on new significance. The **Manchester Guardian**, which had done the most to influence British opinion against Eden's war, went into ecstasies with an editorial beginning:

"There is such a thing as a good and great nation; and now America, alone among the armed Great Powers, is it."

From Ike to Gaitskell to Nehru there were a strangely-assorted company; but all those who had acted from the outset with an eye on the supreme danger—the danger of an obliterating world war—were called upon to take a bow. How long it would take the U.S.S.R. to re-establish friendly relations with the British people, nobody could hazard a guess.

The case of Raphael Konigsberg

THE U.S. SUPREME COURT for the first time has been asked to decide the legality of political tests for determining a citizen's right to earn a living. The case of **Raphael Konigsberg vs. the State Bar of California** has laid these facts before the highest tribunal:

Konigsberg, for 20 years a teacher, journalist, social worker and, for 3½ years, an officer in the U.S. Army, graduated from the University of Calif. School of Law and passed the state bar examination in 1955.

The Committee of Bar Examiners refused to certify him because, citing the First Amendment, he declined to answer questions on his alleged political views. The committee also disapproved of his opinions in a column of political comment in the Negro weekly **California Eagle** and his open opposition to the Tenny Committee on Un-American Activities.

THE DANGERS: Konigsberg's position was that his opinions and associations had no bearing on his qualifications to practice law and that it was his duty as a citizen, regardless of consequences, to refuse to collaborate with persons whose actions might undermine the U.S. Constitution.

The California Supreme Court in a 4-3 decision refused to review the case. The U.S. Supreme Court last May granted a writ of certiorari. If it upholds the California Bar Examiners the results for years to come, according to the Konigsberg Legal Fund, will be:

- That liberal-minded students will have great difficulty being admitted to most law schools, being graduated when admitted, and being admitted to the bar after graduation.
- The way will be opened for disbarment proceedings against many liberal lawyers and attacks on the bar's independence will be intensified.
- The people's right to counsel of their own choice will be limited.

The American Civil Liberties Union and the Natl. Lawyers Guild are preparing amicus briefs to submit to the Supreme Court. The American Friends Service Committee's "Rights of Conscience Program" and Corliss Lamont's Bill of Rights Fund have given support.

Eleanor C. Rorick, 1434 Avon Park Terrace, Los Angeles 26, is treasurer of the Konigsberg Legal Fund.

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ABERYSTWYTH, WALES

My first emotion on reading the GUARDIAN was one of tremendous relief.

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John Meredith

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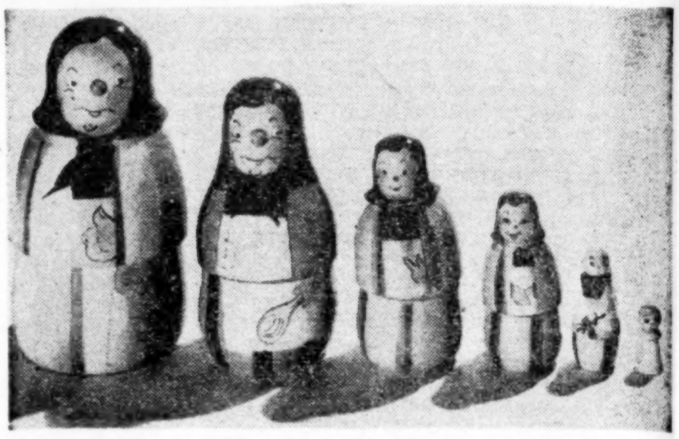

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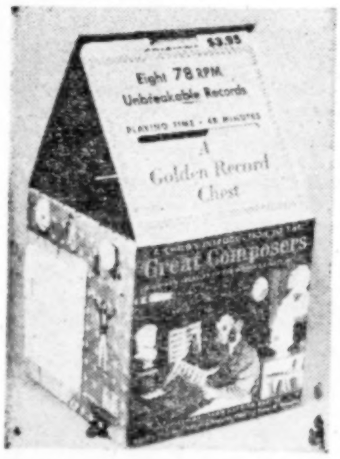

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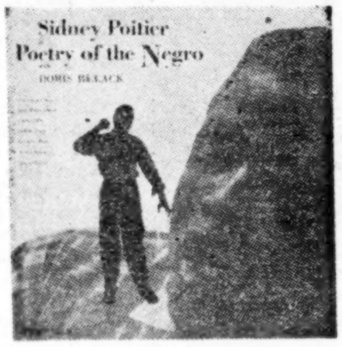

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CAN IT HAPPEN THERE?

The Czechs watch agony of Hungary

By George Wheeler
Special to the Guardian

PRAGUE

MOST PEOPLE HERE were genuinely puzzled by the events in Hungary next door. Why should any one in search of "freedom" burn down a priceless museum and a beautiful opera house? Why did Nagy insist that "this is a revolution, not a counter-revolution"—yet call on Soviet troops to fight it! It is not even clear who was fighting whom and why. Some of those who were fighting on the same side were poles apart in their demands: What did the demand for the "return" of Slovakia have to do with the abolition of norms for piece rates!

Until Nov. 1 there was no outward sign of worry in Prague. Then panic buying broke out. All the food stores that day were full, and people who ordinarily bought one kilo of flour asked for 50. The result was that by 2 p.m. no bread or potatoes were to be had except as new deliveries were made. Nearly everyone said, "This is crazy!"—but to be safe they stood in the queues, or "frontas," as they are called. The joke went around that the "Czechs are the most militant of all peoples—even their women go to the front."

But the situation could be serious. Panic buying creates hardship for those who have not the time to stand in queues, who plan to pick up their bread after work. One woman remarked that the panic had caught her without any food in the house. The storekeeper found her some potatoes and said: "Last week we were begging you people to help us take the potato crop off our hands."

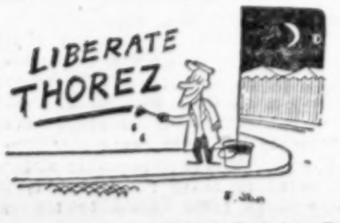
THE DIFFERENCES: The interest in Hungary is high. People have their ears glued to the radio long past midnight even though they have to be at work early the next morning. The official line is to emphasize the role of outside provocation, financing and planning of the uprising—and judging by the boasts of Radio Free Europe it can claim much credit for the bloodshed. But that is obviously an oversimplification. There was widespread discontent with the police system and with the system of wage payments; otherwise the fighting could not have continued for so long over such a wide area.

Most people emphasize the differences in conditions here and in Hungary. Those generally mentioned are:

1. The considerably higher standard of living here and the fact that conditions are improving, for example the reduction of the work week by two hours—to 46.

2. The stronger working class. In Hungary the farmers form a much bigger part of the population and were demanding continuation of private farming. Here the workers are dominant and seem determined to have socialism.

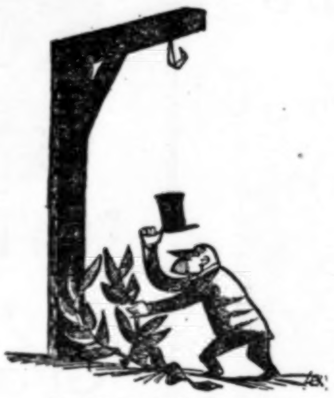
3. Less severe police repression. While the pattern of the Rajk and Slansky trials seemed similar, there has been no agitation for his rehabilitation as was the case with Rajk. The final report on the Slansky trial has not yet been made, but many anomalies remain. For example Konni Zilliacus gave a lecture at the Academy of Science on "The Labour Party and British Foreign Policy." Yet the last official word was that the trials, in which Zilliacus was named as a key foreign agent, were fundamentally correct.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

LEGAL REFORM: The reform of the legal system has been promised for around the first of the year; this is intended to curb police abuses. Meanwhile a much saner attitude toward security already prevails.

The attitude of one of the victims of a police error is typical. He is one of the finest and most likeable men I have ever met. He was arrested at the time of the Slansky trial. He had withstood the tortures of the Gestapo, but he could not withstand the pressure which his own comrades put on him, so he confessed to errors in his official relations with Noel Field. But he was held for two years after Field was cleared! Now he says: "I went into prison a Communist, I stayed a Communist in prison, I am now a Communist—but we must do something about police methods."



De Groene Amsterdammer, Amsterdam
Memorial for Laszlo Rajk

There are no Soviet troops here as there were in Hungary and Poland. Prolonged stay of foreign troops arouses nationalist resentment. This is all the more understandable where national feelings are as touchy as they are in central Europe.

THE SIMILARITIES: But it is a mistake to exaggerate the differences and not look-for parallels, the causes of unrest that can be remedied. The exasperation of Hungarian workers with chaotic "norms" for piece rates leads to the impossible demand that all norms be abolished. But here too there is much discontent with the norms. It is not enough that real wages have gone up (they had gone up in Hungary too); they must be fair as between different kinds of work and properly related to the amount of work done.

Actually the pattern of the piece rates in use here are close to that of the early Bedeaux system which decreased the rate of pay per unit after the norm or standard output was reached. The workers in Capitalist countries forced the abandonment of this type of payment—and they do not like it a bit here either, despite the argument that they all share in the social gain.

There are many such aggravating problems, none of which are inherent in socialism, and some of which can be easily corrected. The fact that the trade unions have tended to become bureaucratic and to neglect these grievances has increased the discontent. Nearly everyone remembers some big strike sparked by a grievance—perhaps not big in itself, but just the last.

If there were an explosion here, it would most likely be in protest against the failure of the bureaucrats to heed these small problems which add up to big ones. Serious attention is now being given to these matters. The events in Hungary show that delay in their solution can put socialism itself in jeopardy. Very few people here seem to want that.

HUNGARY WAS A DIVERSION

How the French reacted to invasion of Egypt

By Anne Bauer
Speecial to the Guardian

PARIS

THE SEVEN DAYS of the Egyptian campaign were for France a week of madness where events moved and situations reversed themselves more quickly than the ribbon on a journalist's typewriter.

In that week, the government first engaged in, then abandoned midway, a course of action so contrary to the country's long-term interests in regard to international law and to world opinion that up to the last moment it had seemed unthinkable.

In that week, the country went from stupefaction to anxiety, while a climate resembling that of the Fascist putsch attempt of Feb. 6, 1934, was being deliberately encouraged from above.

In that same week, Prime Minister Mollet found himself first promoted (as the man-who-will-settle - Nasser's - account and the man-who-will-get-us-back-the-Suez-Canal) to leader of a solid center-rightwing, anti-Communist national union; then (as the man-who-gave-in-to-threat-and-outward-pressure) he became once again the head of a government vulnerable on many sides, and a prisoner of the right.

LITTLE PROTEST: In that same period, too, the French Socialist leadership, again siding with the right, again took a stand diametrically opposed to that of Socialist Parties throughout the rest of the world.

The country's fever curve started at a sub-normal temperature. When, on the evening of Oct. 30, Mollet announced that an Anglo-French ultimatum had been addressed to Nasser, he spoke before a semi-lethargic House. There was no display of rhetoric in support of the government action. But—aside from the Communist Party, and the progressives—there was no protest. Contrary to what happened in London at that same hour, the House gave Mollet a solid vote of approval. Mendés-France and a few deputies of his group merely abstained; and if most Poujadists voted with the extreme left, it was chiefly because their leader, after some "deep thinking," had decided France "must not fight for the Queen of England."

THE EVIDENCE: Once the first shock had worn off, some minor facts fell into significant place showing that military action against Nasser had been carefully synchronized and had no doubt been conceived soon after he had seized the Suez Canal:

- Attacked on French policy after last August's Suez crisis, Mollet and Foreign Minister Pineau hinted their last card was not played. "We still have plenty of trumps in our game," said Pineau in September. Mollet made a similar statement before the House last month.
- The President of the Suez Canal Co. recently suggested this was a good time to buy Suez shares.
- The week preceding the Israeli-Egyptian war, draftees who had been waiting in the south of France for a month, wrote their families they were about to ship out to an unknown destination, but "we know we are not going to North Africa."

A WAR PRESS: The press, from the first day, was near-unanimous in backing the government, which called bombing and troop landings in Egypt a police action to guarantee peace along the Suez Canal. Outside the Communist press, few papers criticised the government, still fewer in terms as strong as the pro-Mendés-France weekly, **Express**, which said in an editorial:

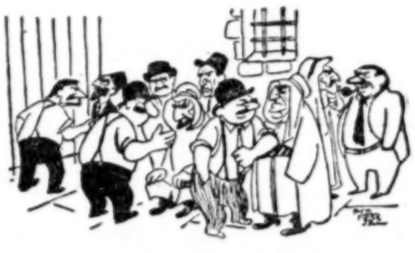
"That in a session where the French Parliament dishonored itself by its fearful silence any one could pretend we are going to 'restore peace in the Middle East'; that a game where the life and death of thousands of men are at stake, could be disguised as a pacific demonstration of generous power—that is a crime against truth and a crime against the nation."

Words such as these were exceptional that first week of November. The country had a war press.

HYSTERICAL CLIMATE: At that point, what happened inside France was the repetition, in a way, of what happened in the UN. The news out of Hungary that served at the UN to patch up badly shaken Atlantic solidarity, was used in Paris to divert attention from Egypt and direct indignation against the Soviet Union abroad, and against the Communists at home. A climate of mass hysteria remindful of the 1934 putsch was promoted by the government radio and the pro-government press. The country's most notorious anti-Semites and Fascists, who a few days earlier had praised Israel's move, now celebrated Hungary's "revolution". The day after the Anglo-French cease-fire, a deputy, who was Commissioner for Jewish Affairs under Petain, asked that the CP be outlawed.

WHAT NEXT? Now that the shooting has stopped—thanks chiefly to the U. S. and the U.S.S.R. acting separately but in the same general direction, the question arises: what will happen next?

Internationally, the first differences between yesterday's military partners—London and Paris—are already making themselves felt over Israel. Other grounds for discord—the Baghdad Pact, Middle Eastern oil, French North Africa—are not lacking between France and England, and among France, England and the U. S.



Canard Enchaine, Paris
Arab-French negotiations
(A French comment on "policing actions" in the Middle East.)

France's position in North Africa has gained nothing and lost much in the Egyptian adventure. If Nasser's military glory is shattered in the eyes of the West, in the Arab world he is already building it up again with stories of Anglo-French failure to conquer Egypt or even to take all of the Suez Canal.

INTERNAL REACTION: Inside France, the CP has been forced into isolation, perhaps for a long time to come. But Mollet himself has lost the stability that the presumed lightning success of the Egyptian campaign would have assured his government. At the end of that campaign, the Prime Minister was expected to announce the downfall of Nasser; thus far, all he could announce was the doubtful downfall of Nasser's prestige.

The situation in the Middle East is far from stable and there may be more surprise moves in the days and weeks to come. But if the Mollet government has neither Nasser nor even the Suez Canal to show for its efforts in the near future, the right will withdraw its support at a time of its own choosing. Mollet may then be isolated between the right and the extreme left.

The most immediate results of the Egyptian campaign for France are , at the present: (1) more taxes and less gas at home; (2) anti-French demonstrations and acts throughout the Moslem world; (3) more difficulties ahead in Tunisia and Morocco; (4) the end of the Algerian war farther away than ever.

Events in Hungary

(Continued from Page 1)

In Hungary and out there were many voices calling for U.S. or UN paratroopers. In West Berlin, London, Paris, Montevideo, crowds marched on Soviet Embassies and CP headquarters.

THE FIRE IN PARIS: The Paris riots were the most serious. A mob of 3,000 set fire to CP headquarters and the offices of **L'Humanite,** the CP daily. They stormed the paper's printing plant. One of the printers defending the paper died later from injuries received in the fighting. Others were hospitalized. **Christian Science Monitor** correspondent Joan Thiriet wrote from Paris:

"The scene was a violent one at Communist headquarters, defended by a thin cordon of police who played little part in the whole riot. Entry was forced through broken windows. Papers, books, and even heavy furniture were heaved out into the street, and two floors were finally set on fire. Meanwhile the Communist Party staff rained down missiles, including bottles and pieces of steel and even a bottle of gasoline from their defensive position on the upper floors."

The following day not a paper was published in Paris as printers struck in protest. Communists and sympathizers counter-demonstrated, shouting "Fascism shall not pass!"

RIOTS AND BOYCOTTS: Amidst the general feeling of shock, the Hungarian situation served as a rallying point for anti-communists who had not had such a field day since the height of the cold war. Diplomats, too, demonstrated. On Nov. 7, the 39th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, ambassadors of the U.S., Britain, France and other NATO countries boycotted the annual parade in Moscow. In Washington, Bonn, Tokyo, Ottawa, Paris and London, diplomats stayed away from the Embassy parties and in some places stone-throwers shattered windows or raided pantries to spill champagne.

French and U.S. diplomats preserved the bare bones of ceremony by sending congratulatory cards in Moscow. These were returned by the Soviets with notes to the effect that the sentiments on the cards did not correspond to the attitudes indicated by the ambassadors.

COLD WAR AGAIN: The cold war atmosphere had settled down in many capitals, but Western diplomats took comfort from one by-product of the Hungarian explosion: at a time when the Egyptian hostilities had almost wrecked NATO, the West could superficially patch its unity in condemnation of the U.S.S.R.

Communists and radicals around the world were shaken once again by the Hungarian violence. (See Belfrage, p. 5.) In France Jean-Paul Sartre broke off all relations with Soviet and French communist writers over Hungary, condemned Soviet action there "entirely and with no reservations." He said that the Moscow government "today goes further than Stalinism after having denounced it."

INDIA'S ATTITUDE: At the UN Assembly French, British, U.S. and Latin American delegates heaped invective on the Soviet action, called it "genocide" and asked for UN police action and supervised elections. The resolutions before the Assembly called for nothing stronger than an order to the Soviet Union to stop alleged interference with the movement of Red Cross aid and an appeal to all member nations to speed relief.

India and others of the Asian-African bloc opposed the violent language that went along with the resolutions, though backing the principle of relieving suffering. Much of the resolutions' point was lost when Red Cross officials announced that convoys were being permitted across the Austrian border and through Yugoslavia. Hungary rejected an earlier UN request that it admit observers.

THE ALTERNATIVE: India's V. K. Krishna Menon tried to calm the debate, reminding the delegates that UN-supervised elections in member states would set an awkward precedent. (The suggestion had been made by Cuba where presidential candidacies are limited to dictator Fulgencio Batista.) To those who denounced neutralism Menon said there was only one alternative: belligerency. He reminded the Assembly that Russian troops "are to be withdrawn from Budapest in agreement with the Hungarian government as soon as order is restored."

In New Delhi Prime Minister Nehru deplored the Soviet action in Hungary as a "violation of the human spirit" but said that it was undertaken to halt chaos. A resolution denouncing the Soviet action, introduced at a meeting of the national committee of Nehru's Congress Party last week, drew not one vote of support.

A PICTURE IS DRAWN: Over the Austrian border last week came U.S. correspondents who had been caught in Budapest when the Soviet tanks returned to the city. They told stories of full-scale bloody destructive fighting. They also agreed that the battle was just about over. They drew a picture of Russian military might saturating Hungary with 15-20 divisions, overpowering a nation with a population the size of New York City. A general strike was said to be continuing. Newsmen told of the visit of Istvan Bibo of the Nagy cabinet to the U.S. legation in the last hours of fighting. The N.Y. **Herald Tribune's** Barrett McGurn quoted Bibo: "I hereby affirm that Hungary has not been following an anti-Soviet policy . . . I reject the slander that fascism or anti-Semitism stained our glorious revolution." He spoke of the "wise and thoughtfully discriminating attitude of the people. They turned only against the oppressive foreign army and the gangs of its henchmen."

But the pictures, splashed across the U. S. press, were the rawest, ugliest scenes photographed since fascism ran riot. There were shots of men stripped, lynched, shot and hanged by the rebels; half-naked, bloody corpses spat upon.

NAGY'S HELP SOUGHT: McGurn said Bibo in his final statement had called for "passive resistance," but the **Times'** John MacCormack quoted him as saying: "It is my conviction that now when the liberation of East European countries has been almost realized in this historical moment, the only means by which world peace can be insured is by taking the risk of world war."

The official Hungarian radio said that Premier Janos Kadar had sought the help of the deposed Imre Nagy. He had been reported arrested, but the government denied it. The Kadar government has issued a statement of policy very like Nagy's. Nagy was reported in the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest.

Though the full story could not yet be told, one thing was clear: The Red Army story could not yet be told. The Red Army had crushed something in Hungary swiftly and effectively. The question was what had been crushed: national independence or an anti-socialist, pro-fascist reaction which Hungarians could not or would not block themselves.

OUT OF HATE AND FEAR AND ANGER CAME DEATH
This Budapest scene was repeated countless times in recent days

The Middle East

(Continued from Page 1)

entering the Suez Canal area. Next day N. Y. **Times** correspondent Homer Bigart reported that a high Israeli official had told U. S. and British correspondents that withdrawal from Sinai was contingent on UN attitude regarding an overall peace settlement with Egypt and on the general military and political situation.

EDEN EQUIVOCATES: Bigart saw "strong indications that Israel would stall on withdrawal from Sinai [which is] likely to be long delayed and may never occur without continued firm pressure by world powers, especially the U. S."

At the annual Lord Mayor's banquet on Nov. 9, British Prime Minister Eden made what the **Times** (11/10) called an "equivocal" pledge of withdrawal of Anglo-French forces from Egypt. Eden also told Parliament that Britain and France must discuss with the UN the efficiency of the international police force. He said that Anglo-French forces would be willing to depart after a "competent" UN police force was in a position "effectively" to discharge its task. The **Times** found in Eden's speech "more than a suggestion . . . that London still hopes that at least part of the [UN police] force will be provided by Britain."

KNIFE IN THE BACK: While the people of Israel were reported disconcerted by their government's agreeing to withdraw from Sinai, the general feeling seemed to be that Egyptian President Nasser had been taught a lesson by the quick defeat of his forces at Sinai. Britain, they thought, had used their attack on Egypt "as a pretext to reoccupy the canal zone," and had then "proceeded elegantly to knife Israel in the back" (N. Y. **Times,** 11/11). The Israeli Cabinet, however, was relieved that it could attribute withdrawal from Sinai to the Eisenhower-Bulganin notes; it was becoming obvious that insistence on occupying Sinai "would simply have ranged against it the whole world, with the possible exception of France" (N. Y. **Herald Tribune,** 11/10).

Frankly

The prime function of a neutral is to serve as a haven of capital which can be saved for use in post-war reconstruction. The secondary function, frankly, is to get paid for this service by making money out of the war. In the present instance, the money we might make would probably be restricted mostly to furnishing oil to Europe in case of a shortage there.

Wall St. Journal, Nov. 5, 1956, advocating neutralism for the U.S. in the Middle East

Eden's prestige has sunk so low that even the London **Economist** was reported (**Times,** 11/11) hinting that there rests on the Prime Minister "a painful but inescapable decision" to resign. (See Belfrage, p. 5). In France, Premier Guy Mollet was strongly criticized by former Premier Mendés-France, and was represented as feeling deserted by Britain.

SWISS PROPOSAL: Eden eagerly grasped the Swiss government's proposal for a Geneva summit meeting involving the Big Four and India. Mollet urged a Big Three meeting instead. Bulganin favored the Swiss idea, but Eisenhower turned it down. Both Eden and Mollet were expected to go to Washington soon to try to persuade the Eisenhower administration to bail them out.

Mrs. Meir "predicted a wave of popular reaction against President Nasser" when Egyptians learned of the Sinai defeat and Britain and France insisted that their military action had saved the world from a worse catastrophe. But observers at the UN felt otherwise; to them the Israeli-British-French adventure in Egypt seemed a total fiasco.

- Israel had failed to force the showdown that would oblige Nasser and other Arab rulers to agree to a final settlement of the Israeli-Arab conflict. On the contrary, Arab bitterness has increased, and the overwhelming majority at the UN had condemned Israel's military adventure.
- Britain and France had failed to pull off the kind of blitzkrieg that would bring Suez under their control and topple Nasser. Instead of maintaining free traffic through the canal, they had by their bombing blocked canal traffic for at least three months and provoked sabotage of oil pipelines. Britain has been obliged to ration gasoline, and is threatened with a substantial increase in the price of oil because of the rerouting of tankers around the Cape of Good Hope.

NASSER'S POSITION: Reports at the UN indicated that Nasser's position was stronger and his prestige higher than ever before. The calm and discipline displayed by the Egyptians at the height of Anglo-French bombardment and the retreat from Sinai was taken as evidence that Nasser's popularity was based on something more than his control of the army.

'CHUTISTS CHEERY AT TAKE-OFF TIME

The New York Times, Nov.

Landing Is Called A 'Crackling Hell'

By The Associated Press.

NICOSIA, Cyprus, Nov. 6—A correspondent who jumped with British paratroops over Egypt said today that

The New York Times, Nov. 7

It was also noted that just before the cease-fire the Nasser government passed out great quantities of arms—pistols, rifles and submachine-guns—to the civilian volunteers making up a popular resistance force, without fear of these arms being turned against the regime. Meanwhile, the more than 2,000 civilian and military casualties, some of them still lying in gutted streets amidst the ruined buildings of Port Said, intensified Egyptian hatred for Britain and France.

Peace in Egypt remained uncertain last week, pending the arrival of the UN police force and the departure of foreign troops. As Britain, France and Israel sought excuses to prolong their occupation of Port Said and Sinai, thousands of Soviet, Chinese and Afghan volunteers offered to fight for Egypt.

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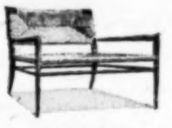

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the SPECTATOR

The Golden Gate

By Michael Gold

SAN FRANCISCO

MAY I ANNOUNCE that my family and I have pulled up stakes in The Bronx and joined the great migration to the Pacific Coast? We are settled in an old, roomy, heatless flat; one son is at work in a metal factory; the other is in high school, already earning his pocket money by playing at dances for other teen-agers on his hot jazz guitar.

The wife haunts a fancy Salvation Army department store of cast-off things and is fitting our pioneer home with second-hand furniture and objects of art. Life staggers on. The rains are here, and we miss the good steam heat of New York. Everywhere I go I meet other shivering pioneers from The Bronx, Manhattan and Brooklyn. Have the native sons and daughters passed like the Indian?

Since World War II there has been a fabulous migration here. Every month 80,000 new hopefuls enter the Golden State. It is predicted that by 1960 California will outstrip New York to become the most populous state in the Union.

I am not a stranger here, having worked on several newspapers from 1923 to 1925. Later I spent a year in sunny Los Angeles. I can note the changes, such as the booming industrialism that has destroyed the fruit orchards and turned demi-fascist L.A. into a fine union town—with a horrible dose of industrial smog.

As for San Francisco, I notice it has gotten a coat of paint. Formerly, one saw miles of slummy homes unpainted and dingy as a sharecropper's shack. An old friend, who is still longshoring for his daily bread and gasoline, told me that the trade union movement has been responsible for this civic beautification. "We fought, raised the wages and the workers started buying their own homes," he said. "The former landlords only cared for profit. But the worker-owners take pride in their homes and give them a coat of paint."

I LIKE A CITY where you see big, husky men in overalls everywhere, healthier, more relaxed than the rat-racing competitive petty bourgeoise of New York. This is probably the best union town in America. The wages are almost the highest too, but so is the cost of living. Food, including the fruit of California, costs more than in any other American city. Mr. Fat, the monopolist, keeps up his masterly demonstration of the Marxian truth. As fast as labor squeezes out higher wages, Mr. Fat as swiftly takes it back at his shiny chain grocery, and through the swindle of instalment buying.

The workers here, like most other Americans, carry a load of debt that would break the back of a Missouri mule.

But the porkchop philosophy is very strong in the trade union leadership. They don't allow their thinking to wander too far beyond the weekly pay-check, as if that were enough to prevent the H-Bomb war. This glittering skyscraper of American prosperity and high wages is built on the shifting quicksands of a war boom. A Communist friend here who was rooting for Stevenson explained to me why Adlai couldn't come out more strongly for peace: "He'd lose every labor leader if he did! How could they go before their membership and support anything that would make for mass unemployment? Stevenson has to be practical," said my over-practical friend.

How backward! How stupidly short of the actual situation! All the gains of labor, along with labor itself, could be wiped out in an H-Bomb war. It is the paramount issue of our epoch. And organized labor in America has taken no leadership in the fight for peace. Other, and weaker, forces, have had to make the fight. This is the true tragedy of America, in our time—philistine trade unionism.

BUT LET'S TURN to fairer and more healing thoughts. San Francisco is probably the most beautiful city in the U.S.A. Wherever you live or work, you are only a few minutes away from some ravishing view of the mountains, the broad shining Bay, the parks and fragrant groves of trees on the hills. The air is pure and bracing. The tempo is slow and neighborly. Bus drivers smile at you and try to help you. Autos politely stop and let you cross the street, as though pedestrians, too, were human and had a right to live.

There is no crowding, no subway horror, no groaning in the tenement night. There is a lot of hopeless poverty, of course, here as in any fortress of profit. But the fresh beauty of this place, that often makes you feel as though you were on a ship at sea, must have an effect on the people. In no other American city have I ever heard the people talk so fondly of their home as in San Francisco.

It has the air, space, beauty and easy tempo of a small town, yet it has the trade union masses and rich cultural life of a great world metropolis. I think this is the combination that wins your soul to allegiance here. One of the unique things I have noticed is the number of former painters, writers, teachers and other intellectuals working at a skilled trade here. It is not done out of some theory of "colonization" or "proleterianization." It just has happened. It is evidently necessary, but more enjoyable here than it would be in New York. The man in overalls is respected here. He can also share in a rich "off Broadway" culture, such as the seven independent "little theatres" that advertise in the newspapers. Their repertory ranges from Lessing and Shakespeare, to Shaw, Arthur Miller and O'Casey. They give fine professional productions, but most of the actors are housewives, longshoremen, metal workers, barbers or clerks. There is elbow room and a feeling of new openings here. Don't expect any Utopia, however. Nobody can live on scenery, as the wobblies used to say. Teen-agers stab each other here too, and there is more alcoholism here, the authorities announce, than in any other American city. Money rules in California, as in the rest of these states. Yet what is this strange instinct that impels me to dream that this fog-bound city on its many beautiful hills could become a new spiritual Athens if only labor could wake up and lead the way?

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MR. WILSON C. RILES will speak on topic: **"EASTERN EUROPE AND THE RACE ISSUE",** Sun., Nov. 25, 3:30 p.m. at 5610 So. Figueroa. Bring a friend. Donation.

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SAT., DEC. 1st, Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith on the Walter-McCarran Law, Washington Hall, 153-14th Ave., Dinner 6 p.m. Meeting 8 p.m. Auspices: WCPFB.

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Tues., Nov. 20—Round Table: **IS CAPITALIST STABILIZATION NOW POSSIBLE?** The challenge of People's Capitalism to Marxist Economic Theory. Panelists: David Goldway, Victor Perlo, Myer Weise. Jefferson School, 575 6th Ave., 8:15 p.m. Adm: $1.

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Books and Publications

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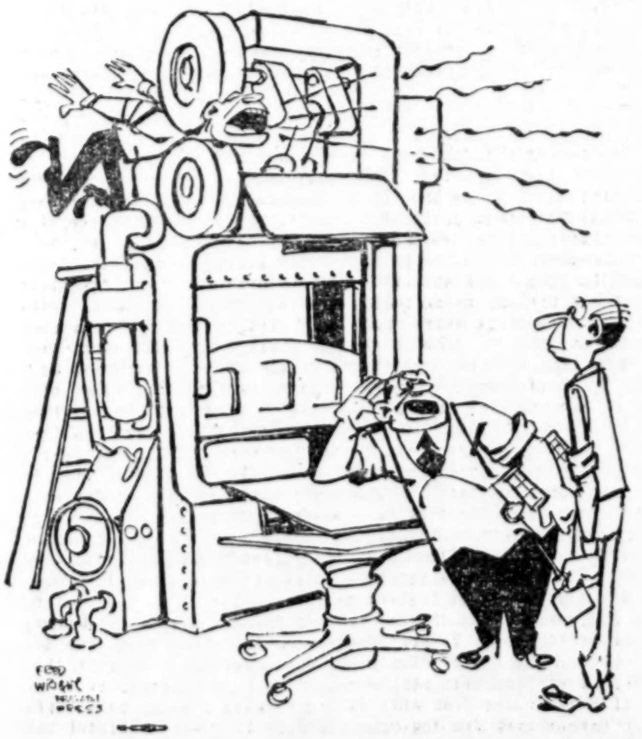

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A STOCKPILE FOR MANKIND

UN parley drafts agency to use atom for peace

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

OVERSHADOWED by Security Council discussion of the Suez crisis, another UN event, holding great potential benefit to mankind, went relatively unnoticed. The 82-member Atoms-for-Peace Conference on Oct. 23 unanimously approved the draft statute of an International Atomic Energy Agency. Three days later 70 members formally signed the statute in the UN Assembly Hall; the other 12 awaited instructions from their governments.

The Agency was first proposed by President Eisenhower in his speech before the UN General Assembly in December, 1953. "The governments principally involved," the President said, "should . . . make joint contributions from their stockpiles of normal uranium and fissionable material to an international atomic energy agency [to] be set up under the aegis of the UN . . . Of those principally involved, the Soviet Union must, of course, be one."

DR. BHABHA'S FORECAST: The Eisenhower speech was eagerly accepted by the underdeveloped countries as providing them with a possible short-cut to industrialization. But very little was done to implement the proposal until the UN-sponsored Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy in August, 1955, dramatically disclosed the great potential of nuclear energy for rapid industrial development and raising standards of living. It was at this conference that the chairman, Dr. Homi Bhabha of India, forecast the possible harnessing of energy released by fusion for peaceful purposes.

When the UN General Assembly, following the Geneva conference, initiated plans to set up a committee to draft the statute for the international Agency, Asian, African, Latin American and smaller European countries successfully prevented a Big Power monopoly of the committee. A 12-nation committee was eventually set up composed of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Britain, Canada, Czechoslovakia, France, India, Portugal, S. Africa, U.S.S.R. and U.S.

THE DEBATE WAS SHARP: The drafting committee met in Washington for six weeks early in 1956. All 12 nations approved the final version—India with some reservations—and copies were sent to members of the UN and its specialized agencies (countries belonging to the agencies are not necessarily members of the UN).

Last Sept. 20 the Atom-for-Peace Conference opened at the UN, with Joao Carlos Muniz of Brazil as president and Dr. Pavel Winkler of Czechoslovakia as vice president. For 35 days, there was much heated discussion over membership in the Agency, composition of the board of governors which will have jurisdiction of fissionable material and inspection and control systems.

One of the first questions to come up was the perennial issue of the recognition of China. The Soviet delegate, supported by the Asian-African group, proposed admitting all nations as "founders" of the agency. After sharp debate, the proposal was defeated: 19 votes in favor, 45 against, 19 abstentions. Some delegates acidly noted the anomaly of admitting the Principality of Monaco as a member while excluding China.

"ATOMIC COLONIALISM": Underdeveloped countries, led by India, Indonesia and Egypt, fought against the tendency to pack the board of governors with the Western powers and against stringent inspection and control systems prescribed for countries buying or borrowing fissionable material from the Agency's stockpile. Pointing out that countries with independent access to fissionable material and technology were free from any kind of inspection, Dr. Bhabha called the Agency's system a form of "atomic colonialism." A compromise was reached eventually: the board of governors was given greater regional representation, and the inspection and control systems were relaxed.

As finally approved, the functions of the Agency will be two-fold:

1. It will offer information; sell, lend or lease nuclear fuel, nuclear reactors and other aid at reasonable prices; assist buyers in securing loans if necessary.

2. It will supervise and inspect atomic programs only to make certain that they are being used for peaceful purposes.

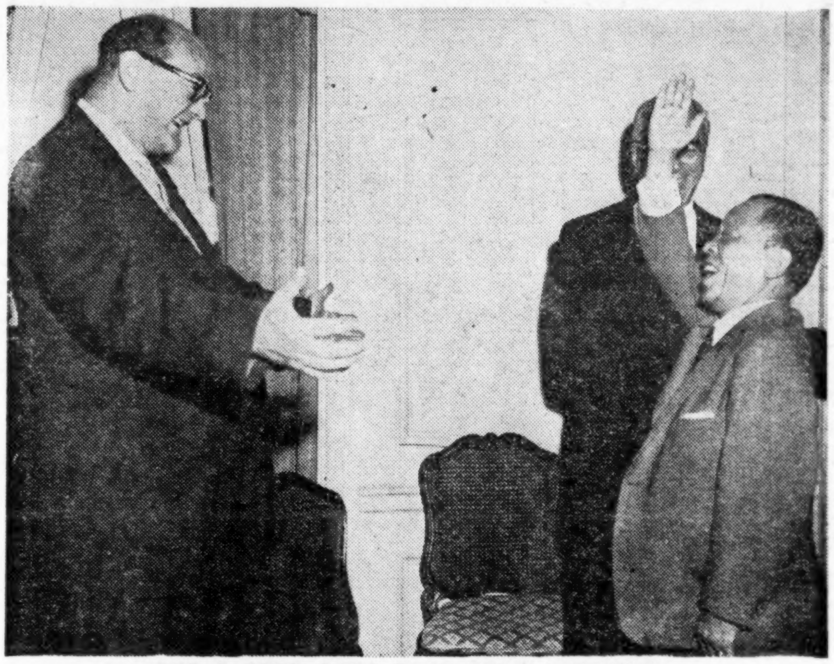
A Thailand amendment accepted by the conference provides for eventually expanding the inspection system to embrace atomic installations everywhere.

AUTONOMOUS GROUP: The conference, deadlocked over whether the agency would be responsible to the UN General Assembly or the Security Council, finally agreed to the solution suggested by UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold: it would be an autonomous body which would make periodic reports to the Assembly, the Council and the various UN specialized agencies on appropriate aspects of its work.

An 18-nation Preparatory Commission —which would function as the first board of governors—was set up, with Brazil's Carlos Bernardes as chairman and Czechoslovakia's Dr. Winkler as vice chairman. It was hoped that the Agency would come into being next summer or fall, with headquarters in Vienna. The commission was empowered to borrow funds from the UN until voluntary contributions from members and income from loan or sale of nuclear fuel began to come in. Washington has offered 5,000 kilograms of nuclear fuel Uranium 235 to the agency's atom "bank"; Moscow and London have also pledged contributions.

Observing that nuclear power plants are already functioning in Britain and the U.S.S.R. and are planned in the U.S. (Britain's 65,000 kilowatt station was opened by Queen Elizabeth Oct. 17) the underdeveloped nations are eager for the international Agency to get going as soon as possible. But they realize that the Agency can function smoothly only in a peaceful world. This is one reason for their dogged effort to extinguish the flames of war in the Middle East and Eastern Europe.

K. G.



IT'S A LONG, LONG ROAD FROM HIROSHIMA

At the UN conference was Japan's atomic energy commissioner, I. Ishikawa (r.) greeting U. S. delegate James Wadsworth (l.). Ishiwaka's hand, appropriately enough, blocks the face of U. S. atomic energy commissioner Adm. Lewis Strauss, who says he isn't at all worried about Strontium 90.

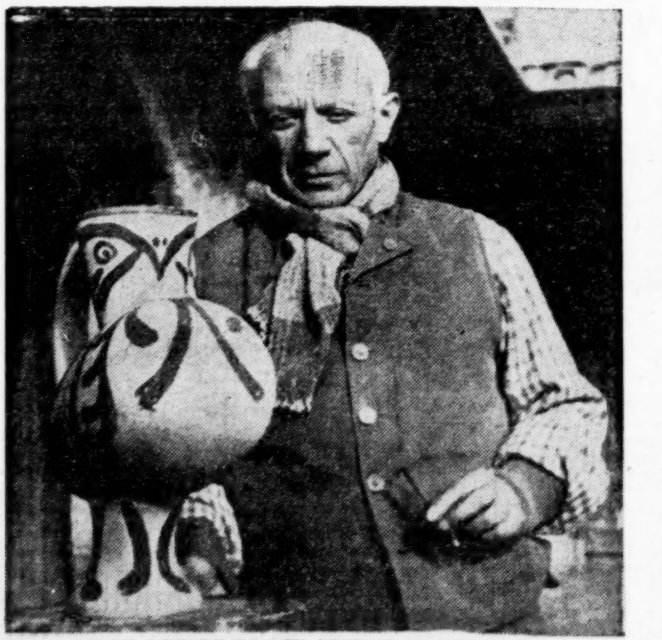
"THERE IS NO ABSTRACTION WHERE THERE IS LIFE"

Picasso's 75th birthday show draws raves in Moscow

Special to the Guardian

PARIS

THE FIRST comprehensive show in the U.S.S.R. of the art of Pablo Picasso, put on to celebrate his 75th birthday, is a smash hit in Moscow. Crowds arriving for the opening of the show—paintings, sketches and ceramics sent from France covering all Picasso's "periods," plus canvases lent by Leningrad's Hermitage Museum where they are on permanent exhibition—were too large to get inside, and long queues formed at the Plastic Arts museum.



THE ARTIST IN HIS STUDIO IN FRANCE

He designs and executes his own pottery

Author Ilya Ehrenburg, who went to Paris to fetch the exhibits, opened the show with a speech urging patience on the multitude struggling to get in. "You have waited 25 years for this show," he said, "and you can certainly wait another half-hour." All of artistic and literary Moscow was present, and most of the French Embassy personnel.

MAN OF THE FUTURE: On the previous evening Moscow's intellectual "elite" had crammed the great hall of the House of Architects to celebrate Picasso's birthday. On the platform with Ehrenburg were white-bearded octogenarian sculptor Konenkov, venerable Armenian painter Sarian and theater director-designer Yutkovitch. A murmur of astonishment greeted the appearance of Art Academy president Gerasimov, whose lack of admiration for Picasso's work is well-known, and Vice-Minister of Culture Orvid. The political committee for the defense of peace was represented by its secretary, Kotov.

The audience applauded tempestuously as Ehrenburg described Picasso as "one of the greatest painters of our century . . . the man of the future in art as in life." He recalled the admiration for Picasso always loudly expressed by Mayakowsky, the late Soviet poet who had had his ups and downs with Soviet cultural "officialdom." The audience roared with laughter when Ehrenburg described Mayakovsky as "an author whose authority cannot be contested since a Moscow square is named after him."

NO ABSTRACTION: Architect Rudiev, who built the new Moscow University, called Picasso one of the "classics" because, like the greatest artists of the past, he is an innovator. "I have never understood," he said, "those who choose to call his art abstract. There is no abstraction where there is life, vigor of sentiment and imagination, and love of people."

Ehrenburg read a telegram which was sent to Picasso with the approval of the great gathering: "We are happy that here in Moscow an exhibition has been opened which will make better known to all lovers of art the work of one of the greatest painters of our time. We salute the man of great heart, the defender of peace and happiness of simple people."

A POLITICAL ARTIST: At his home near Cannes, Picasso told **Liberation's** Georges Royer that he was happy to have a complete range of his work presented to the Soviet public. "I have waited a long time for this show," he told Royer "gravely but without acrimony." Referring to his "Guernica," "Massacre in Korea," "War and Peace" and other similar works, the creator of the world-famous Peace Dove added: "I am a political artist." Royer recalled how, during the Nazi occupation of France, Picasso used to present postcard reproductions of "Guernica" to German officers who visited his studio. One of these officers asked Picasso: "Did you do that?" Picasso replied: "No, you did."

Asked what he thought of the views on his work expressed in the past by Gerasimov, Picasso said: "What is the significance of that? Only that Gerasimov can say whatever he likes and I can paint whatever I like. Let's leave it that way and nobody need feel hurt."

China bids DuBois to Franklin fete

THE Republic of China is celebrating the 250th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin in Peking, Dec. 12, 1956.

Kuo Mo Jo, representing the Committee for Commemorating Great Figures in World Culture, has invited Dr. W. E. B. DuBois to take part in this celebration and to remain a month in China traveling and giving academic lectures. His expenses will be paid.